

Message Text

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AF-10 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 DLOS-09 NSCE-00 SSO-00
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4013
INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
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EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: POR, MX
SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: INFORMATION ON MEXICO

REF: (A) 77 STATE 159747, (B) 76 STATE 37591,
(C) 76 MEXICO 2690, (D) 77 MEXICO 12512

1. IN RESPONSE TO DEPARTMENT'S REQUEST THE FOLLOWING IS
AN UPDATED ASSESSMENT OF THE QUESTIONS POSED IN PARA 7
OF REF (A). WE USE THE NUMBERING OF THAT CABLE. EMBASSY'S
PREVIOUS ASSESSMENT WAS PROVIDED REF (C). COMMENTS ON
MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY WERE ALSO PROVIDED IN REF (D).

7(A). UNDER THE NEW ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT LOPEZ
PORTILLO, MEXICO'S PRIMARY MULTILATERAL INTERESTS AND
OBJECTIVES IN 1977 SEEM TO BE EVOLVING AS FOLLOWS:

A. NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE. MEXICO WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY AN
ACTIVE ROLE IN G-77, EMPHASIZING WHEN THE OCCA-
SION IS APPROPRIATE THE NEED FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL
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ECONOMIC ORDER. ITS RHETORIC, HOWEVER, WILL BE SIGNIFI-
CANTLY TONED DOWN IN COMPARISON TO THE ECHEVERRIA PERIOD.
MEXICO WILL PROBABLY SHUN THE CONFRONTATIONAL POSTURE OF
THE MORE RADICAL G-77 COUNTRIES AND BE WILLING TO EXPLORE
AREAS FOR POSSIBLE COMPROMISE WITH DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.
ON SOME ECONOMIC ISSUES, THE JLP ADMINISTRATION STILL
IDENTIFIES ITS NATIONAL INTERESTS WITH THOSE OF DEVELOPING

COUNTRIES. NEVERTHELESS, MEXICO'S STATUS AS ONE OF THE MOST DEVELOPED NATIONS IN THE G-77 AND JLP'S PRAGMATIC APPROACH SHOULD MAKE THE GOM MORE RECEPTIVE TO A COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH U.S. AND OTHER DEVELOPED NATIONS. ON MORE POLITICAL ISSUES, SUCH AS GUAM OR PUERTO RICO, MEXICO WILL SEARCH FOR A WAY TO AVOID AGGRAVATING THE U.S. WHILE STILL MAINTAINING A POSITION OF PRINCIPLE. FROM A POLITICAL STANDPOINT THE GOM IS NOT IN POSITION TO REVERSE SOME OF ITS MORE CONTROVERSIAL VOTES OF THE PAST FEW YEARS BUT WILL PROBABLY GO ALONG WITH EFFORTS TO AVOID HAVING SOME OF THESE CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES PUT ON THE AGENDA.

B. REGIONAL AFFAIRS. IN THE OAS MEXICO WILL PROBABLY MAINTAIN ITS EXISTING POSITION ON THE ISSUES OF COLLECTIVE ECONOMIC SECURITY AND CHARTER REFORM. HOWEVER, THE COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEXICO AND THE U.S. AT GRENADA SUGGESTS THAT THE GOM WILL COOPERATE IN PREVENTING THESE ISSUES FROM ESCALATING TO A POINT OF SHARP CONFRONTATION.

ALTHOUGH MEXICO WAS ORIGINALLY A LEADER IN PROMOTING LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION (SELA), THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT THE GOM IS INCREASINGLY DISILLUSIONED WITH SELA'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND PROSPECTS. WHILE IT WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE TO SUPPORT COOPERATION AMONG LA COUNTRIES FOR CERTAIN DEVELOPMENTAL UNDERTAKINGS, SUCH AS

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CARIBBEAN SHIPPING ORGANIZATION NAMUCAR, THE GOM SEEMS LESS INTERESTED IN USING SELA TO PROMOTE LA ECONOMIC SOLIDARITY AGAINST THE U.S. AND OTHER DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.

C. DISARMAMENT. DRAWING ON THE EXTENSIVE KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE OF EX-FOREIGN MINISTER GARCIA ROBLES, MEXICO WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN UN AND CCD MEETINGS, USING EVERY AVAILABLE OPPORTUNITY TO FORCE U.S., USSR AND OTHER NUCLEAR STATES TO ACCEPT WHAT IT CALLS GENUINE DISARMAMENT AND ARMS REDUCTION. THE GOM IN TURN WILL LOOK FOR U.S. COOPERATION IN STRENGTHENING OPLANAL (TREATY OF TLAZELOLCO), INCLUDING U.S. ASSISTANCE IN MOVING THE USSR TOWARD SIGNATURE OF PROTOCOL II. MEXICO MEANWHILE WILL FOCUS ITS EFFORTS ON CUBA, BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA. WHILE MEXICAN OFFICIALS RECOGNIZE THAT REAL PROGRESS TOWARD DISARMAMENT WILL DEPEND IN LARGE MEASURE ON OUTCOME OF U.S.-USSR NEGOTIATIONS, THEY ARE DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN AND INCREASE PUBLIC AND DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE FOR MEANINGFUL DISARMAMENT IN UN AND OTHER DISARMAMENT FORA. NOTWITHSTANDING THIS POSTURE, IT WOULD BE PRODUCTIVE FOR US TO CONSULT AS CLOSELY AS POSSIBLE WITH GOM

IN PREPARATION FOR THE UN SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT
NEXT YEAR.

D. LAW OF THE SEA. OUR ANALYSIS AWAITS SUBSTANTIVE REPORTS ON MEXICO'S ROLE DURING LATEST SESSION OF LOS CONFERENCE.

7(B). THE NEW JLP ADMINISTRATION, WHILE NOT PUBLICLY REPUDIATING OR ABANDONING THE POSITION OF THIRD WORLD LEADERSHIP ESPoused BY FORMER PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA, CLEARLY ATTACHES GREATER PRIORITY TO BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE U.S., DEVELOPED NATIONS IN EUROPE, AND KEY LA COUNTRIES.

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IN PART THIS SHIFT IN FOCUS IS DUE TO TRADE AND FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS STEMMING FROM MEXICO'S CURRENT ECONOMIC WOES. IT ALSO REFLECTS JLP'S PRAGMATIC ASSESSMENT OF MEXICAN NATIONAL INTERESTS AND HIS INCLINATION TO RETURN TO A MORE TRADITIONAL FOREIGN POLICY IN PURSUIT OF THESE INTERESTS. CLEARLY, THE "THIRD WORLD" AND OTHER POPULAR SLOGANS OF THE ECHEVERRIA PERIOD ARE NO LONGER IN VOGUE AMONG HIGH-LEVEL GOM OFFICIALS. CONTRARY TO OCCASIONAL COMMENTS IN DEPARTMENT CABLES, HOWEVER, THIS SHIFT IN EMPHASIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE SHOULD EXPECT OR COUNT ON GOM SUPPORT FOR USG POSITIONS ON MANY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION ISSUES.

MEXICO WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE G-77.
GIVEN ITS STATUS AS ONE OF THE MOST DEVELOPED OF THE
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WITH INTERESTS THAT FREQUENTLY DIFFER
FROM THE POORER OR MORE RADICAL COUNTRIES IN THIS HETERO-
GENEOUS GROUPING, HOWEVER, MEXICO ON SOME ISSUES MAY BE
PREPARED TO EXERCISE A MODERATING INFLUENCE. MUCH WILL
DEPEND ON THE SUBSTANCE OF U.S. POSITIONS, WHETHER OUR
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NATIONAL INTERESTS ARE PERCEIVED TO COINCIDE, AND THE
DEGREE TO WHICH THE U.S. IS PREPARED TO ENGAGE IN TIMELY
AND MEANINGFUL CONSULTATIONS. IN ADDITION, MEXICO'S
PERCEPTIONS REGARDING THE COURSE OF BILATERAL RELATIONS
WITH THE U.S. COULD INDIRECTLY, BUT SIGNIFICANTLY, INFLU-
ENCE THE GOM'S ATTITUDE TOWARD U.S. POSITIONS ON A WIDE
RANGE OF INTERNATIONAL ISSUES.

7(C). DESPITE THE APPOINTMENT OF SANTIAGO ROEL AS NEW
FOREIGN SECRETARY AND SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN KEY SECRE-
TARIAT (SRE) POSITIONS, THE TRADITIONAL RELATIONSHIP AND
PATTERN OF BEHAVIOR BETWEEN THE GOM AND ITS DELEGATIONS
TO INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS CONTINUE TO PREVAIL. ROEL IS
POLITICALLY ASTUTE AND ENJOYS A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH
THE PRESIDENT. ALTHOUGH HE LACKS DIPLOMATIC EXPERIENCE
AND A DETAILED KNOWLEDGE OF COMPLEX INTERNATIONAL ORGANI-
ZATIONS ISSUES, HE SEEMS INTENT ON PLAYING AN IMPORTANT
ROLE IN POLICY FORMULATION. ROEL'S KEY ADVISOR ON THESE
ISSUES IS AMB. SERGIO GONZALEZ GALVEZ, WHO HAS HAD YEARS
OF EXPERIENCE AND IS WIDELY RECOGNIZED AS SRE'S LEADING
EXPERT IN THIS AREA. TO DATE GONZALEZ APPEARS TO HAVE
ROEL'S EAR AND CONFIDENCE, THIS DESPITE THE FACT THAT ROEL
SHOWS LITTLE ESTEEM FOR THE PROFESSIONALS IN HIS SECRE-
TARIAT. BETWEEN THE TWO, THEY SEEM--WITHIN THE LIMITATIONS
OF MEXICO'S UNEVEN COMMUNICATION FACILITIES--TO KEEP A
REASONABLY TIGHT REIN IN INSTRUCTING MEXICAN DELEGATIONS
TO IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS. IN CERTAIN AREAS,
SUCH AS LAW OF THE SEA AND DISARMAMENT, HOWEVER, MEXICO
IS STILL REPRESENTED BY SKILLED AND EXPERIENCED DIPLOMATS
(I.E., AMBASSADORS JORGE CASTANEDA AND GARCIA ROBLES) WHO
UNDoubtedly HAVE CONSIDERABLE FREEDOM OF ACTION IN FORMU-
LATING MEXICAN POSITIONS, AND TO WHOM IT IS UNLIKELY TO
PROVIDE FREQUENT AND DETAILED INSTRUCTIONS.

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BUREAUCRATIC RIVALRY BETWEEN SRE AND OTHER GOM SECRETAR-

IATS--PARTICULARLY IN AREA OF ECONOMIC POLICY WHERE SRE LACKS PERSONNEL DEPTH AND EXPERTISE--IS STILL A PROBLEM. WE UNDERSTAND THAT PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO HAS AUTHORIZED SRE TO "COORDINATE GOM POLICY" INVOLVING OTHER SECRETAR-IATS, BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR TO WHAT EXTENT ROEL AND OTHER SRE OFFICIALS ARE ABLE TO DISCHARGE THIS ROLE EFFECTIVELY.

7(D). AS INDICATED EARLIER, SOME GOM REPRESENTATIVES OR HEADS OF DELEGATIONS DO HAVE INDEPENDENT POWER AND AUTHORITY, BUT WE SUSPECT THERE IS BETTER COORDINATION AND A SMOOTHER WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH ROEL AND OTHER HIGH-RANKING SRE OFFICIALS THAN DURING ECHEVERRIA'S PRESIDENCY.

7(E). UNDER JLP THE SRE OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN VERY ACCESSIBLE AND WILLING TO LISTEN TO U.S. REPRESENTATIONS. WE PERCEIVE A GREATER WILLINGNESS TO CONSULT AND ACCOMMODATE DIFFERENCES, ALTHOUGH WHEN DIFFERENCES CANNOT BE RESOLVED THE GOM WILL ULTIMATELY ACT ACCORDING TO ITS OWN INTERESTS. UNDER ECHEVERRIA, GOM REGARDED ITS "THIRD WORLD" POSTURE ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES AS A MEANS OF ASSERTING POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE U.S. IT TEMPERED ITS POSITIONS ONLY WHEN THEY THREATENED TO JEOPARDIZE BILATERAL RELATIONS. IN CONTRAST, THE JLP GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. HAS UNDOUBTEDLY BEEN AN IMPORTANT FACTOR WHICH HAS TENDED TO MODERATE MEXICAN POSITIONS ON SOME MULTILATERAL ISSUES AND TO OPEN THE WAY FOR A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP. ROEL HIMSELF HAS INDICATED, HOWEVER, THAT U.S. POSITIONS ON BILATERAL ISSUES SUCH AS UNDOCUMENTED ALIENS COULD AFFECT THE GOM'S DISPOSITION TO COOPERATE ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES. IN SHORT, MEXICO RECOGNIZES THE LINKAGE BUT IT CUTS BOTH WAYS.

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MEXICAN FONSEC HERE ONLY OCCASIONALLY SOLICITS U.S. SUPPORT OR GENERAL VIEWS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES OF SUBSTANCE BUT WILL PROBABLY DO SO MORE OFTEN IF WE ENGAGE IN CLOSER CONSULTATIONS ON ISSUES OF COMMON INTEREST. BASIS NOW EXISTS FOR DEVELOPING A MEANINGFUL DIALOGUE WITH SENIOR SRE OFFICIALS, ALTHOUGH WE BELIEVE THAT MOST SUSTAINED AND SUBSTANTIVE CONTACTS WILL PROBABLY STILL TAKE PLACE AT INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS OR DURING HIGH-LEVEL CONSULTATIONS SUCH AS MAYNES' BILATERAL IN JUNE AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S VISIT THIS MONTH. LUCEY

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